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PARTY AND STATE

CHEN YUN'S VIEWS ON DEVELOPING NATIONAL ECONOMY

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 9, Sep 81 pp 35-40

[Article by Theoretical Education Office, Propaganda Department, Provincial Party Committee: "Study Materials for 'Selected Manuscripts of Comrade Chen Yun'"]

[Text] The "Selected Manuscripts of Comrade Chen Yun" contains some of his important articles from September 1956 to 1962 on the socialist construction. These articles scientifically summarized the experiences of China's socialist construction, producing an important guiding effect on the socialist construction of not only that time, but also today. Conscientiously studying the basic viewpoints in these articles will enable us to understand more profoundly the party's lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session, implement more successfully the policy of readjusting the national economy and hasten the stride of China's socialist modernization construction.

I. Construction must be carried out on the foundation of properly arranging the people's livelihood.

Comrade Chen Yun felt that correctly handling the relations between the people's livelihood and the economic construction not only is the objective requirement of the socialist economic development, but also possesses a tremendous political significance. Therefore, a socialist state must be concerned over the intimate interests of the masses and proceed with construction on the foundation of properly arranging the people's livelihood.

(2) Consideration must be given to both economic construction and the people's livelihood. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "Consideration must be given to both economic construction and the people's livelihood, and the two must be balanced." "We must never give consideration to just one side and overlook the other." "After spending decades to succeed in the revolution, we must not let the fruits of the revolution be lost in our hands. Now we are confronted with the problem of how to consolidate and develop the fruits of the revolution,

and the key is in properly arranging the livelihood of the 600 plus million people and truly seeking their welfare." On concern over the people's livelihood, "its significance is definitely not secondary to that of building factories; it should be placed on an equally important footing as plant building."

Scientifically revealing the dialectic relationship between production and livelihood, Comrade Chen Yun's views are completely compatible with the requirements of the basic socialist economic laws. When determining the proportion of the national income between consumption and reserve, we must first arrange for the people's livelihood before considering economic construction. In addition, the sum total of the two must not exceed the national income, because, once exceeded, a fiscal deficit will inevitably occur, causing commodity price rises and affecting the people's livelihood.

(2) The production of consumer goods must be appropriately increased when increasing the production of production means. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "When augmenting investments, besides increasing the production means, we must appropriately increase the production of grain and other consumer goods." "While the investment in heavy industry constitutes the major portion, the proportion in light industry and agriculture must be increased, and the investment in heavy industry serving light industry and agriculture must also be increased." "In times of raw material shortage, we must assure first the minimum requirements of the units producing daily necessities and next the needs of the necessary production means, using the surplus for capital construction."

Comrade Chen Yun's expositions are compatible with the reproduction theory of Marxism. Marx divided social production into two big categories: Production means and consumer means. To expand reproduction, serious attention must be given to production means, the first category, but the second category, consumer means, must be commensurately developed, maintaining a balance with the former. The handling of the relations between the two categories, in order to maintain an appropriate proportion, is linked with the development of production and the improvement of the people's living standard. In the past, though we advocated following the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and developing all three simultaneously, we did not conscientiously implement it in practice, often reversing the order, resulting in heavy industry serving itself and light industry struggling by itself, and in overemphasizing heavy industry, overlooking light industry and crowding out agriculture. Therefore, there was a constant shortage of consumer goods. Comrade Chen Yun's principle on the correct handling of the relations between the two big categories is still applicable today. In the current economic readjustment, vigorously developing the production of consumer means and stressing the necessity for heavy industry, especially machine industry, to serve the technical transformation of agriculture, light and textile industries, and the various branches of the national economy not only are for the purpose of satisfying the current living needs of the people, but also possess a long-range significance in gradually rationalizing China's economic structure and assuring the proportionate harmony of the entire national economy.

(3) Agricultural production must be vigorously developed. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The foundation of the national economy is agriculture. Only when agriculture improves will industry and other aspects improve." "China's agricultural economy is very large, and agricultural production and fiscal revenue are closely linked." He also said: "China's grain problem has not been solved. When grain is stable, the country is stable; when grain is tight, the market is tight." Therefore, he asked that all possible effort be devoted to agriculture, and that priority be given to its needs.

Comrade Chen Yun's views on agricultural construction were correct in the past and are correct today. Nevertheless, we failed to give adequate attention to agriculture in the past. The proportion of investment in it was too small and the purchase price of grain and certain agricultural by-products was inclined to be low. In some areas, instead of supporting agriculture, it was living on, injuring and crowding out agriculture. After the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee stressed the importance of policies, science and management in developing agriculture, adopted a series of appropriate measures, raised the purchase price of certain agricultural by-products, relaxed the relevant economic policies, expanded the self-governing power of the basic level units in operation, generally introduced the production responsibility system of compensation according to output, and readjusted the internal economic structure of agriculture. All these have effectively activated the enthusiasm of the broad peasants and promoted the development of agricultural production.

Read the following articles: "Talk at the Enlarged Ministerial Affairs Meeting of the Ministry of Commerce;" "the Issue of the Supply of Vegetables Must Be Solved;" "Give Serious Attention to Grain Work;" "Letter to the Comrades of the Central Financial-Economic Group;" "an Important Task Linked with the Overall Situation;" "the Current Financial and Economic Conditions and a Number of Ways to Overcome the Difficulties;" "Talk at the Central Financial-Economic Group Meeting."

II. The scale of capital construction must be commensurate with the national strength.

After the test of practice through many years, the important principle that the scale of capital construction must be commensurate with the national strength proposed by Comrade Chen Yun when summarizing the experiences of China's socialist construction has proved to be completely correct. We must conscientiously grasp it and firmly implement it in practice.

(1) The commensuration between the scale of capital construction and the national strength is the demarcation of economic stability. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The scale of construction must be commensurate with the financial and material resources of the country. It is the demarcation between economic stability and instability. For a large country of 600 million population like ours, economic stability is extremely important. It is rash for the scale of construction to exceed the financial and material feasibilities

of the state; an economic chaos may occur. When the two are well adjusted, the economy will be stable." The socialist expanded reproduction must be steady and uninterrupted and, to attain this, the scale of construction and the national strength must be commensurate with each other. If the scale of construction exceeds the feasibility of the national strength, there will be major rises and major falls in the economic development. National strength consists of the surplus products after deducting from the total annual products the production means needed by the industries for normal production and the consumer means needed by the staff and workers, and also the indispensable needs of the non-material production units and the needs for appropriately improving the people's living standard. Only this surplus part may be used for capital construction. When manifested in currency, it is what is called financial strength. The scale of capital construction must be determined by the material and financial strengths. If such material and financial strengths are overtaxed and if we fail to act according to our capabilities, the result will be waste due to haste.

In the past, we were often impatient for success in economic construction and disregarded the national strength. The scale of capital construction was too large, creating a tense situation in our finances and resources. Left long uncompleted, many capital construction projects, instead of turning into productive capacities, affected the development of the national economy as a whole. In the first 2 years after the downfall of the "gang of 4," such "leftwing" mistakes were continued, adding to the economic difficulties and forcing us to further readjust the national economy and drastically compress the scale of capital construction.

(2) Production must be properly arranged first before arranging for capital construction. This is an important principle in handling the relations between simple and expanded reproduction. Comrade Chen Yun listed the order of raw material distribution: "The minimum needs of the units producing daily necessities come first, then the needs for the creation of production means, and the surplus for capital construction. Placing production before capital construction is mainly for the purpose of maintaining the minimum living needs of the people, avoiding enlarging the scale of capital construction unrealistically and crowding out the production of daily necessities. In the supply of financial and material resources, the production of daily necessities must come before capital construction. It is the issue of rationally arranging the relations between the people's livelihood and construction.... Today when we limit the supply of raw material to the minimum needs of production and squeeze out some strengths for capital construction, it is precisely for the future development of production." Thus he explained the correct handling of the relations between production and capital construction in raw material distribution. Production mentioned here refers to the existing and already formed production capacity and the making of products. As productive activities to renew and increase fixed assets, capital construction is an important requirement to assure the continuity of social reproduction and a major means of expanded reproduction. While it will promote long-range production development, its scale and speed are conditioned by production. Therefore, the amount of capital construction must hinge on the amount of surplus products

after assuring the normalcy of current production. If the needs of current production are not assured and capital construction is pursued at the expense of current production, we will not only fail to expand reproduction, but also destroy the existing production scale. The basic spirit of production first and capital construction next proposed by Comrade Chen Yun is to fully utilize the plants already built and the existing industries and follow the policy of "tapping the latent power, innovating and remolding first and building new plants next." To expand the scale of reproduction, we must also rely on the existing industries and only build new ones when necessary. Expanding the scale of reproduction by tapping the latent power and innovating and remolding the existing industries require less investment and bear faster results than building new plants.

When handling the relations between production and capital construction in the past, we often made arrangements for capital construction in disregard of the financial and material feasibilities, and the scale was often too large, at times at the expense of the normal production needs of existing industries and even infringing upon the people's living needs, thereby affecting the development of the capacities of the existing industries and the improvement of the people's living standard. Hereafter, to assure the commensuration of the scale of capital construction with the national strength and correctly handle the relations between production and capital construction, we must firmly observe Comrade Chen Yun's principle of production first and capital construction next.

(3) The relations between the "bone" and the "flesh" in capital construction must be correctly handled. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "Inexperienced in handling such relations in the past, we stressed the 'bone' and overlooked the 'flesh.' We underestimated the degree of difficulties and the amount of investment in building a new industrial city or base. We must give prompt attention to such problems and solve them properly." He also said: "The national economy is an organic whole. When undertaking industrial construction, we must consider the various links of production, and also the coordination among communication and transportation, commercial facilities, urban construction, housing for staff and workers and the service industries." He declared that, when the amount of investment decreases, "if certain major projects are not postponed, reducing only the 'flesh,' but not the 'bone,' it will, if continued, create a tense situation." In other words, in capital construction, the main and the subsidiary projects must be considered and arranged simultaneously, so that they are mutually adjusted.

(4) A rational industrial layout is required when arranging capital construction. Comrade Chen Yun felt that the industrial layout is one of the key issues in capital construction. On building industrial systems, he advocated that "we must only start from the national sphere before reaching the various cooperative areas, and thereafter the qualified provinces and autonomous regions." If we disregard the objective conditions, and the various provinces all take part in building their own industrial systems, spreading it out completely, advancing side by side and building blindly, inevitably the strengths of construction will be scattered, the state will lose control of capital

construction, financial and material resources will be wasted, and the national strength will be overtaxed. It was an important lesson to us in the past. To solve the issue properly, we must, in line with the spirit of "coordinating all activities of the nation like pieces in a chess game," integrate the current interest with the long-range interest, and the partial interest with that of the whole, and observe the unified planning of the state in the production and construction work of all industries in all areas of the nation; the unified planning of the state must never be violated.

Read the following articles: "The Scale of Construction Must Be Commensurate with the National Strength;" "Several Major Issues in the Current Capital Construction."

III. The principle of proportionate development must be upheld in the socialist economy.

Comrade Chen Yun felt that proportionate development of the national economy is the objective law of the socialist economy and the basic condition for realizing social reproduction. Only by firmly observing the proportion will the socialist economy develop at a high speed.

(1) Proportionate development must be upheld in the national economy. Comrade Chen Yun said: "Planned socialist economy is observing proportion." "Observing proportion is the objective law, and failing to do so will bring failure." "When one part is missing in a machine, even though all other parts are complete, the machine will not start." Objectively, socialized large production requires that labor be distributed among the various units according to a specific proportion. However, as the social systems are different, the ways of achieving the proportion also differ. In a capitalist society, the proportion among the various units of the national economy is spontaneously regulated by the law of value and, by means of the cyclic economic crises which wreak havoc on the social productive forces, temporarily achieved by force. The creation of the socialist production means public ownership has provided the possibility to distribute social labor according to plan and proportion.

As Comrade Chen Yun's view on the development of the national economy according to plan and proportion did not receive the proper attention in China's socialist economic construction in the past, serious leftwing mistakes spread, symbolized by impatience for success, exaggerating the role of the subjective will and subjective effort, high quotas, issuing blind orders, boasting, and the "communist wind." As a result, the national economy suffered from protracted proportionate maladjustments, affecting the speed of its development. Comrade Chen Yun's view on the planned and proportionate development of the national economy has a great significance in starting from reality, formulating rational national economic plans, solving the proportionate maladjustments and developing the national economy.

(2) When carrying out planned economy, the auxiliary role of market regulation must be developed. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "Planned production is the

principal part of industrial and agricultural production, while free production according to market fluctuations and within the range permitted by state planning serves as the auxiliary." He felt that the principal part of the industrial and agricultural products in the whole country, such as grain, cotton fabric, iron and steel, etc., must be produced according to state planning, because such products concern the national economy and the people's livelihood and, if they are not produced according to plan, we will sink into a state of anarchy. Planned production should serve as the principal part of the socialist production, and free production should be permitted for the non-principal part of industrial and agricultural products, such as daily need articles, handicraft products and small native products. Including all products in state planning and making the regulations too rigid and too minute are not only impossible, but also unnecessary. As free production is regulated and serves only as an indispensable auxiliary to planned production, it is not capitalistic.

In handling the relations between planned production and free production, we, for a long time, only stressed the former, but failed to mention, or seldom mentioned, the latter, and the purchase and marketing of products of the latter were placed under state monopoly. Therefore, the industries were only responsible for state plans, without regard to market needs, and the quality, varieties and specifications of their products failed to satisfy the needs of production and the people's living. Only by developing the regulatory effect of the market while carrying out the planned economy will the enthusiasm of the industries be more successfully activated and our production become more adjusted to the needs of society.

(3) Overall balance must be properly attained. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "What we call overall balance is observing proportion; when proportion is observed, there will be balance." "If overall balance is disregarded in economic work, we will not be able to move a single step." Overall balance is to make the proportion in the planning compatible with the objective economic laws. Without overall balance, there will be no steady development of the national economy. Only with overall balance will the various aspects of the national economy harmonize with one another, the manpower, material and financial resources be fully utilized, and the development of the national economy according to plan and proportion be promoted.

For many years there has been an ongoing debate concerning the question of an overall balance, which has focused on whether we should follow a high-supply balance or a short-supply balance. Following the so-called high-supply balance would mean taking as our standard certain high-production items, and having all the others keep up with these norms. This approach means it would be impossible to achieve a balance. Comrade Chen Yun advocated basing [norms] on short-supply [goods] to achieve an overall balance. A balance thus achieved is the only true and reliable balance. The past view that an high-supply balance is a positive balance and a short-supply balance is a negative balance is wrong, and we must correct it.

(4) The balance among finance, credit, resource and foreign exchange must be attained. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that, to forestall the danger of the scale of economic construction exceeding the national strength, "fiscal revenue

and expenditure and bank credit must be balanced, and there should be a surplus. As long as fiscal revenue and expenditure and credit are balanced, social purchasing power and resource supply, on the whole, will balance." He also pointed out that "exportable products must be exported as much as possible; we must first properly handle foreign trade." It is what we call the four great balances of finance, credit, resource and foreign exchange.

Comrade Chen Yun's view on the four great balances is the most important issue in the overall balance of the national economy. The main reason for the serious proportionate maladjustments in China's socialist economic construction, which had occurred twice, was the severe disruption of the four great balances. Only by firmly observing them will the national economy develop steadily and soundly.

Read the following articles: "New Issues after the Basic Completion of the Socialist Reform;" "the Scale of Construction Must Be Commensurate with the National Strength;" "Talk at the Coal Work Forum;" "the Current Financial and Economic Conditions and a Number of Ways to Overcome the Difficulties;" "Talk at the Central Financial-Economic Group Meeting."

IV. The socialist economic system must be restructured.

Comrade Chen Yun felt that China's socialist economic system must be restructured. The restructuring of the economic management system refers to transforming the patterns and methods of state leadership and national economic activities according to the objective economic laws. There are many defects in our current economic management system, restraining the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the laborers, blocking the full development of the socialist superiority and seriously hampering the progress of the four modernization construction. It must be restructured.

(1) State and collective operation, as the principal part, must be supplemented with a certain amount of individual operation. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The condition of our socialist economy will be: In industry and commerce, state and collective operation forms the principal part, but is supplemented with a certain amount of individual operation, which serves as an auxiliary to state and collective operation." "But the wrong practice of paying attention only to centralized production and operation while overlooking dispersed production and operation must be rectified."

According to Comrade Chen Yun's view, under the premise of the overwhelming dominance of the socialist public ownership economy, components and forms of diversification should be allowed to coexist. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, by permitting the coexistence of the components and forms of diversification under the condition of the overwhelming dominance of public ownership, the enthusiasm of the broad masses has risen and production has developed. As proved by the facts, our economic policy is correct.

(2) The relations among the central government, the local government and the industries must be correctly handled and a certain amount of self-governing power given the local governments and the plants and mines. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "Expanding the functions of the local governments is entirely necessary. Generally speaking, the local governments are more familiar with local affairs than the central government." "However, national balancing work must be strengthened." "While there must be suitable division of power, we must, at the same time, reinforce comprehensiveness." He felt that the power of the local administrative organs and industries is inadequate and the control over the industries by the administrative units excessive, and that these two defects restrict the initiative and enthusiasm of the cadres of local administrative organs and industries in their work. Within the unified planning of the state, the local governments and industries should be given a certain amount of power.

The greatest defects in our economic system in the past were overconcentration of power and equal sharing in the large canteen, thereby restricting the enthusiasm and initiative of the industries and laborers and sapping vitality from economic development. Besides all the taxes and loan payments required by the state, the experimental industries for expanding self-governing power have, in the recent 2 years, been given control of all the profit, thereby closely integrating the interests of the state, the industry and the individual staff and workers and enhancing the enthusiasm of the industries and the staff and workers because of their intimate interests. The economic responsibility system introduced in the industries has further activated the enthusiasm of the staff and workers, promoted output increase and economy, higher receipts and lower expenditures, and effectively advanced the development of production.

(3) Specialization cooperation must be introduced. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "Modern industry is an extremely complex economy of specialization cooperation. Therefore, labor division and cooperation must be practiced among the various areas, various units and various industries, and even among the various parts within an industry." "In a province or autonomous region, it is impractical to attempt to create a complete and independent industrial system." In modern mass production, the demand for specialized labor division is becoming ever more minute, and there is even specialized cooperation of a world nature beyond state boundaries.

In the past 30 plus years, we have not paid adequate attention to this issue. From the local governments to the various branches and industries, all want to form their own systems, promoting small-yet-complete and large-yet-complete enterprises, causing high consumption and large wastes in production, inferior quality and high price in products, and low labor productivity. This situation is not adapted to the socialist modern mass production. Therefore, specialized cooperation must be introduced.

(4) The operation and management styles of the industries must be improved. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "Currently, as the entire market has been unified, and the purchase and marketing of commodities are monopolized by the socialist commerce, if the work methods are not improved and the task not

properly performed, it is possible for the danger of seriously severing from the masses to emerge." He also said: "We take away much from the peasants. The considerable amount of surplus in the granaries, for instance, is not unrelated to the practice of some grain purchasing units of shortchanging the peasants."

Comrade Chen Yun's idea on improving the operation style of the industries has a great significance in our current endeavor to improve enterprise management. Among the state operated industries, many of them produce and operate independently. As some people have not established the viewpoint of serving the masses, the style of bureaucratic industry and bureaucratic commerce is in general existence, and the practice of entering by the back door widespread, causing the extreme dissatisfaction of the masses. We must earnestly learn Comrade Chen Yun's viewpoint, establish the idea of serving the people heart and soul, consider the interest of the masses in everything and properly operate our socialist industries.

Read the following articles: "New Issues after the Basic Completion of the Socialist Reform;" "Talk at the Enlarged Ministerial Affairs Meeting of the Ministry of Commerce;" "Properly Perform Commerce Work;" "Issues Requiring Attention after Improving the System;" "Provisions on Improving the Industrial Management System;" "Provisions on Improving the Commercial Management System."

V. The guiding principle of seeking the truth from the facts must be upheld.

When in charge of financial and economic work in the central government, Comrade Chen Yun was a model in upholding the principle of seeking the truth from the facts. Studying the "Selected Manuscripts," we should learn not only his correct economic thinking, but also his scientific attitude and dialectic method of seeking the truth from the facts. He pointed out: "We often talk about seeking the truth from the facts. Obtaining the facts is to clarify the actual conditions; seeking the truth is to create correct policies based on the result of study." On the means to practice seeking the truth from the facts, he summarized it into 15 words: "not depending on the superior, nor on books, but on the facts" and "comprehensive, comparative and repetitious." The central idea of these 15 words is: When guiding economic work, any leader must understand the spiritual essence of the directives from the superior level and implement them in conjunction with the practical conditions. He must start from the national conditions, neither mechanically copying and transplanting the experiences of foreign countries, nor mechanically carrying out the directives of the superior level in disregard of the conditions of the particular area or according to his subjective wishes. In method, he must comprehensively clarify and analyze the practical conditions, compare the various views, hypotheses and plans in all aspects and decide after repeated deliberation. How do we uphold the principle of seeking the truth from the facts?

(1) We must adhere to the principle of investigation and study. Comrade Chen Yun urged: "When we perform work, we must devote more than 90 percent of our time to studying the conditions and less than 10 percent to policymaking. All correct policies come from scientific analyses based on actual conditions.

Some comrades do the opposite. They busy themselves everyday with making this and that decisions, but seldom investigate and study the actual conditions. Such work method must be changed. We must realize that one-sidedness always results from being in a hurry to decide on policies and failing to study the actual conditions." Comrade Chen Yun always made conscientious and careful investigations and studies when handling any problem. In 1961, he successively investigated and studied Qingpu county of the Shanghai municipality, Hangzhou and Suzhou, visiting the peasants in their homes besides exchanging opinions with the party committees of the various levels. He personally solved the problems of the peasants in hog raising, private plots and cropping. His surveys on implementing the iron and steel directive and on developing nitrogenous fertilizer and the coal industry, especially his article on "the Current Financial and Economic Conditions and a Number of Ways to Overcome the Difficulties," were investigations of the overall situation and the whole of the national economy and produced an extremely important impact on solving the issues emerging in China's socialist construction.

(2) We must clarify the national conditions and act according to the objective laws. Comrade Chen Yun said: "The more one seeks the truth from the facts, the more will one's thinking and actions conform to the actual conditions and objective laws, and the more will one develop the creative spirit." To act according to the objective laws, we must first clarify the national conditions of China. Time and again, Comrade Chen Yun mentioned China's large population, scarce arable land, backward agriculture and weak industry, and declared that a clear understanding of the national conditions is the basis for solving all economic issues. He felt that, starting from China's national conditions, the development of our economic construction should not be too rapid, that we must fight a "protracted war," and that the scale of construction should not be too large. The guiding thought is to progress steadily and advance gradually according to the proper order, and to guard against impatience for success.

(3) We must be skillful in heeding and courageous in expressing dissenting opinions.

Comrade Chen Yun declared time and again: "We must encourage everyone to express different opinions." "It is a good thing to have two different opinions, for it will enable us to be more comprehensive when looking at issues, avoid one-sidedness, and make less mistakes." With the opposition standing before us, it forces us to give more consideration to the issues. When considering issues, Comrade Chen Yun never rashly made his conclusions, but always encouraged others to express their views first and consciously led them to refute, revise and supplement his own viewpoints. Only after much deliberation when he could grasp the patterns of things would he reach a careful decision. When the boasting trend was widespread in 1958, for instance, he proposed reducing the iron and steel target from 11.5 million ton to 9 million; when the "small indigenous group" was vigorously advocated, he expressed the opinion that it was "a waste of money and manpower." Such valuable opinions produced an extremely important impact on rectifying the "leftwing" mistakes at that time and routing the national economy to the correct track.

(4) We must align our thinking and work with the ever changing objective conditions. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out that we must adapt our thinking and work to the changing objective reality. We must give special attention to the fact that, with the development of the economy, the passage of time, the intensification of practice, the emergence of new issues and the constant changes of conditions, we must continuously revise the policies formulated in the past. It is the dialectic materialist ideological line to implement Marxism.

Read the following articles: "Investigation of the Rural Villages of Qingpu;" "How to Make Our Understanding More Comprehensive."

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CRITICISM OF LIBERALIZATION, OPPOSITION TO BUREAUCRATISM ADDRESSED

Bourgeois Liberalization

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 81, p 4

[Article by Gao Nanhai [6750 0589 3189]: "Does Criticism of Bourgeois Liberalization Hinder Opposition to Bureaucratism?"]

[Text] In our present-day society there are some people who believe that criticism of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization blocks avenues of speech and prevents people from opposing bureaucratism. This is an erroneous viewpoint.

The so-called tendency toward liberalization is a form of bourgeois ideology. Its characteristics are separation from party leadership and the socialist path and its core is opposition to party leadership. The so-called bureaucratism consists of the evil habits of subjective and arbitrary assertions, blind leadership, separation from the masses and separation from reality. Those advocating liberalism of the first type frequently use opposition to bureaucratism as a premise and an excuse to oppose party leadership. They force a "broadening" of the concept of bureaucratism and include all party forms under the term bureaucratism. Naturally, only a very small number of people are guilty of this and the great majority of people who express liberalism have problems of both understanding and of style. Some of our comrades have not observed the actual quality of this tendency but have been confused by its surface appearance and mistakenly believe that it prohibits criticism of bureaucratism.

Actually, there is no foundation for their understanding of this matter. The party has always paid great attention to opposing and overcoming bureaucratism. The "Resolution" passed by the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Congress thoroughly affirmed the importance and the necessity of opposing and overcoming bureaucratism. In summing up Chairman Mao's theories concerning party construction the "Resolution" pointed out, "In view of the fact that our party was about to and did become the leader of the whole country, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly urged, first of the eve of the founding of the People's Republic and after the founding as well, that we remain modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness and keep to plain living and hard struggle in our style of work and that we should be on the lookout against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and oppose bureaucratism which alienates us from the masses." The

"Resolution" also pointed out in all seriousness, "The issue of the style of the party in control of the government is a question of life and death for the party. Party organs on all levels and all party cadres must deeply enter the masses, deeply enter reality, be prudent and modest, suffer together with the masses and firmly overcome bureaucratism." This thoroughly explains that the bureaucratism of some comrades, whether past or present, must be fully faced and bravely overcome and can never be a taboo or be forgiven. This actually is the case. In our ideological construction to oppose and overcome bureaucratism the party's organizational regulations became more strict, repeated emphasis was placed on the restoration and broad application of the party's superior traditions and bureaucratism was criticized and controlled without exception from the premiership and ministers on down to the primary level cadres. These facts are openly acknowledged by all. Moreover, as for those good people who dare to expose bureaucratism and struggle against actions which are contrary to party rules or national law, we extend our praise and support and encourage the broad cadres and broad masses to emulate them, struggle in order to restore and broadly apply our party's superior traditions and improve construction of the four modernizations. All of this clearly shows that our party is both great and glorious and none of the exploiting class political parties are in any way comparable. Therefore, there is no reason to be suspicious or unsure. We should forego all prejudice and unemotionally and realistically criticize the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization and criticize bureaucratism in order to make contributions toward building socialist material and spiritual culture.

Validity of Bourgeois Liberalization Denied

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Huang Qin [7806 0530]: "Liberalism is Definitely Not Our Traditional Practice"]

[Text] In conversations about liberalism some people always unthinkingly say that it is one of our ways of doing things. This reflects the thinking of some people in present-day society. However, such thought is but a sort of pre-conception, based on some unknown assumption.

Engels said that liberalism is the understanding of necessity. Liberalism does not stand alone as some fantasy separate from natural laws, but rather exists in the recognition of these laws and in being able to carry out the planned application of these natural laws in serving specific goals. This then informs us that liberalism is conditional rather than free of conditions. The conditions are the recognition and application of objective laws. Ignorance of objective laws will result in punishment by these laws and there then is no question of any liberalism. We live on the earth and the earth's gravity affects each of us. If someone disregards this objective law

and wants to be a "heavenly horse flying at will through the skies," at least his imagination is beautiful, but this is only a fantasy. It is only through the recognition of the phenomena of physics and by utilizing the earth's gravity and aerodynamics that we can build airplanes and rockets and can gain the freedom to leave the earth's surface and travel through the skies. Life in society is just the same. The reason why human society can exist and develop is also based on the application of its own internal laws. If mankind does not recognize and apply these laws and establish a system which reflects these laws then each person will persist in his old ways so that even no discussion of liberalism would be possible. Moreover, human society would not be able to continue to exist. It is just as Engels said: If there were a society with only two people and one of them did not adhere to the premise of obedience then that society would cease to exist. From this we see that the absolute freedom of persisting in old ways simply cannot exist in a realistic society.

The bourgeoisie always parade the "freedom" of their society, but, actually, their freedom is not unconditional or absolute. The bourgeois slogan of freedom does not demand absolute freedom for all people of a society but uses this slogan to arouse the people, to cut the assorted feudal bonds on capital development and struggle for freedom of commerce and freedom for capitalist exploitation. But after the bourgeoisie had established political control their banner of "freedom" never made any significant progress. It merely deceived people and concealed the exploitation. Today, however, there are these people who are infatuated with bourgeois liberalization and who praise and imitate the West. This is not enlightened wisdom but rather is benighted ignorance. Under the capitalist system, on the one hand there are the millionaires and billionaires and on the other hand there are the servants and slaves dependent on them. To speak of freedom under conditions such as these is to be as foolish as Ah Q who bragged of his spiritual victory after being beaten. Of course, the modern capitalist world has some semblance of freedom, which is enticing, but some of this was won through proletarian struggles and some is necessary to the preservation of capitalist dictatorship. However, none of these threaten the premise of the capitalist system. As soon as such freedom exceeds the limits permitted by the bourgeoisie the screen of freedom will be replaced by swords and cannon. Do not the blood of the members of the Paris Commune, the burning of the parliament, the sacrifice of [Aidi] and the bloody tears of the great flood of unemployed workers testify to the base falsehood of the "free world"?

The proletariat has taken the slogan of freedom away from the bourgeoisie and given it scientific depth. The import of proletarian freedom is the elimination of all class distinctions. After the proletariat assumed political power this slogan demanded that the broad masses struggle under proletarian leadership to enjoy all democratic rights, work hard, develop production and create material and spiritual culture in order to bring about communism. Because of the limitations of material and spiritual conditions, in a socialist society

the people living under the laws and regulations which enforce the basic benefits of the broad masses still must enjoy the freedom of individual speech or otherwise become separated from the four basic principles and party discipline and it will be difficult to maintain peaceful unity. All comrades ought to be socialist citizens who consciously adhere to discipline and obey the law.

11582

CSO: 4005/315

PARTY AND STATE

DISTINCTION BETWEEN IDEOLOGICAL, BOURGEOIS LIBERATION MADE

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Hao Zhenhua [6787 6966 5478] and Zhao Wenbin [6392 2429 2430]: "Ideological Liberation and Bourgeois Liberalization"]

[Text] In our present-day society there is a tendency toward a form of bourgeois liberalization. This mistaken tendency not only creates confusion in the people's thought, it moreover severely endangers our socialist affairs. Lenin said: "We must strongly unite in struggle against all bourgeois thought." (LENING QUANJI--THE COMPLETE WORKS OF LENIN Vol 5, p 309) We therefore must carry out strict criticism of and an appropriate struggle against those social trends which are separated from the socialist path, separated from the leadership and which carry out bourgeois liberalization.

In criticizing bourgeois liberalization the primary concern is to overcome lax and weak conditions in the party leadership. If this problem is not resolved it will be difficult to carry out effective criticism and struggle. Yet, it must also be observed that for certain units and comrades the difficulty of clearly distinguishing between ideological liberation and bourgeois liberalization hinders the brave and straightforward criticism of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization. To effectively criticize and struggle against bourgeois liberalization it is necessary to make clear distinctions between liberation and liberalization.

For example, some people believe that in liberating thought one does as one pleases and says whatever springs to one's lips. Some people use the excuse "theoretical research has no taboos" to negate the superiority of the socialist system and negate the glorious accomplishments of the revolution and construction since the founding of the People's Republic. They believe that we practice agrarian socialism and they advocate a return to the development of capitalism. They even openly spread bourgeois democratic fantasies, promote their bourgeois philosophic concepts of "natural life" and "individual liberation," and even think of forcing the bourgeois multi-party system, congress and election system upon our socialist China. Other people create a direct opposition between ideological liberation and party leadership. They see party leadership as "fussy, broadranging

interference" and an "inhibition" and strive mightily to resist and escape it. They make fun of the party and party leadership, satirize socialist patriotism, slander Mao Zedong Thought and promote things of bad taste, vulgarity and licentiousness. Then if the party interferes with or criticizes them they believe that this hinders ideological liberation. In the countryside there are some people who see ideological liberation and policy relaxation as an escape from party leadership so that they can ignore the relationships between the state, collective and the individual and can even engage in speculation, promote feudal superstition, gambling and arranged marriages. If the upper level leadership acts to restrict them they then call this "ideological ossification" and "non-liberating." Of course, there is a variety of situations in which people confuse bourgeois liberalization with ideological liberation. Some distort, misunderstand or only partially seek ideological liberation while some wave the banner of ideological liberation to oppose ideological liberation. However, no matter which, none are concerned with carrying out the policy of the Third Plenum and none are true ideological liberation, all are mistaken.

What then are the distinctions between ideological liberation and liberalization? First, ideological liberation stimulates the mind, is realistic, is a uniformly progressive policy and was stipulated by the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Congress. The Third Plenum also indicated that all cadres of the whole party and all people of the entire nation must liberate their thought under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This policy has had a decisive role in restoring order from chaos and overcoming leftist errors in our guiding ideology. However, liberalization is the exact opposite of this policy. Because the people promoting liberalization are not truly restoring order from chaos but are criticizing some basic Marxist principles as leftist things and are promoting bourgeois goods as revolutionary things. This can only cause the people who have just been liberated from the chaos caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to again be engulfed by confusion and be subjected to the ties and bondage of bourgeois ideology.

Second, the essence and nucleus of ideological liberation is primarily the liberation of our cadres and the masses from the bonds of leftist concepts, to put the people's thought on the true path of dialectical materialism under correct party leadership to go forward on the path of scientific socialism. On the contrary, the core of liberalization is to oppose party leadership and eliminate the four basic principles. The people promoting the liberalization advocate ultra-democracy and absolute freedom, characterize the party as "restrictive and limiting," believe only in democracy and not in centralization and are especially opposed to democracy under centralized leadership. Ideological liberation separate from party leadership can only become mired in the worship of liberalization, can only lead to ultra-individualism and anarchism and will only permit bourgeois ideology to become more wild and unrestrained.

Third, ideological liberation is opposed to the viewpoint of the "two whatevers" while liberalization and the "two whatevers" are mutually beneficial and mutually supportive. The "two whatevers" was a product of the historical stage following the smashing of the "gang of four," was an unrealistic, mistaken policy, was protective of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and its previous leftist errors and was a hindrance to social progress. The ideological liberation of which we speak can destroy that depressed state of ideological ossification, restore realistic traditions, and bring our subjective world in line with objective rules. Those people who promote liberalization talk about opposing the "two whatevers," but their standpoint is that of idealism and metaphysics, just the opposite of the "two whatevers," the one affirming everything and the other denying everything. In the past when speaking of the perfection of socialism they would then say "Imperialism is dying but not dead, capitalism is corrupt but not collapsed and socialism is superior but not perfect." They believe that revealing the faults of socialism is to speak the truth of ideological liberation and to praise the glories of socialism is "the false sorrow of the wolf baying at the moon." They wilfully ignored the party's history of successful experiences and even read between the lines of Mao Zedong's works to search out problems and find points to criticize. Their methods are not only incapable of criticizing the "two whatevers," on the contrary they provide an excuse for people following the "two whatevers" tendency to blame liberalization on ideological liberation and therefore protect the "two whatevers" ideological trend. Although liberalization and the "two whatevers" appear to be incompatible they actually are mutually beneficial and mutually supportive.

In short, the goal and consequence of ideological liberation is to make radical reforms to allow us to again return to the scientific path of Marxism, make progress in strengthening and improving party leadership, respond to the new conditions, understand the new situation, solve new problems and wholeheartedly carry out the building of socialist modernization. The spreading consequences of liberalization will certainly poison the socialist direction, weaken the people's revolutionary spirit, endanger socialist peaceful unity, harm our revolution and construction and even result in such disasters as the "Great Cultural Revolution."

The fact that we are now undertaking an ideological struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalization does not mean that our anti-leftism tasks are already completed and that we will no longer be anti-leftist. This is because the evidence in ideological work and concrete work on all aspects in all areas shows that a great many tasks in the correction of leftist errors remain uncompleted. Moreover, leftist ideology has been influential for a long time and become a kind of traditional conceptual and habitual force which will not willingly leave the people's minds and which cannot be eradicated in a brief period of time. For example, there now are some people who still look upon the multi-form production responsibility system, diversified economy and centralized markets as liberalization and make an equation

between diversification and liberalization. There also are people who respond to criticism with the technique of raising to that boundless higher plane of principle. Because of this, in the days ahead there can be no relaxation of criticism and correction of leftist errors. To discontinue the rectification of leftist errors will provide an excuse for the creation of an ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. People will grasp at any expression of leftism and say that support of the four basic principles represses ideological liberation and will say that we are using the old techniques of beating and labeling. In the same vein, non-opposition to the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization will provide those comrades who still support leftist guiding ideology with materials to lay the blame for liberalization on ideological liberation. There are those who relinquish their leadership and pay no attention to matters even in the areas and units under their own leadership and then finally say that the resulting chaos is to be blamed on the policies of the Third Plenum and on ideological liberation. They moreover use this as evidence of the correctness of those leftist errors. We have no choice but to be realistic and carry out the two line struggle.

11582

CSO: 4005/313

HISTORY OF CONCEPTION OF MARXISM REVIEWED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Yu Ge [6735 2960]: "In What Year Did Marxism Originate?"]

[Text] The formation or creation of Marxism as an integrated scientific system of thought required a process. In his "'Seven Great' Work Programs" Chairman Mao pointed out that, "Marx's and Engel's creation of Marxist theory began in 1843 (3 years after the Opium War)." Dear reader, do you know why Chairman Mao said this?

Marx and Engels were not born communists. Marx was born in 1818 into the family of a German lawyer. In college, he belonged to a young Hegelian group. Following his graduation in 1841 from the University of Berlin, he worked mostly at writing and for the press, and published quite a few political treatises attacking the reactionary Prussian government. In 1841, Marx and his wife, Jenny, arrived in Paris, the revolutionary center of Europe. Here, Marx frequently attended workers assemblies, and built a relationship with secret worker organizations such as the "Confederation of the Righteous." He saw that "these downtrodden workers were decent and honest to a fault, their moral character noble," and he found in them a great force to change the world. As Lenin said, "When Marx was in Paris,...he became a socialist." In Paris, Marx also studied thoroughly the history of the great bourgeois revolution in France, and he studied classical German Philosophy, classical British politics and economics, and the visionary socialist theories of Great Britain and France. He summarized the experiences of the proletariat in struggle to form a series of major Marxist concepts about the annihilation of the system of private ownership, the revolutionary role of the proletariat, and socialist revolutionary struggle. Publication of articles such as "Philosophical Criticism of the Hegelian Method," which was published at the end of 1843, marked the birth of a new world view.

Engels was born in 1820 into the family of a German industrial plant owner. In November 1842, he was forced to go to Manchester, England to do business for the "Oman-Engels" Textile Company. But in Manchester, the rebellious Engels took another road. In the company of a female textile worker named Mary Baienshi [phonetic], he frequently went into the filthy and mean alleys where the workers lived to understand the work and living conditions of the workers, to participate in workers assemblies, charterist meetings, and mass meetings, building relationships with worker leaders in various counties. Therefore, Lenin believed that "only after going to England did Engels become a socialist." During this period, Engels studied British social and political relationships, devouring large numbers of books to form a materialist view of society, and a series of major Marxist outlooks on annihilation

of the system of private ownership, violent revolution, and the historical role of the proletariat.

At the end of August 1844, Marx and Engels met in Paris with mutual admiration, the two men thereafter cooperating closely and entering a new stage of the founding of Marxist theory. Between 1844 and 1847, the two men cooperated in the writing of "The Holy Family," "German Will and Ideology," and the "Communist Manifesto." Marx wrote, "Outline of Feuerbaha" [6316 1422 1572 0761] [phonetic], and "The Poverty of Philosophy," and published a speech titled, "Hiring of Labor and Capital." Engels wrote "The State of the British Working Class," and "Principles of Communism." The production of these works marked the formation of the Marxist ideological system.

From this may be seen that 1843 was the year in which Marx and Engels threw themselves into the workers movement, an era of change toward materialism and communism; it was also an era when they formed a series of important Marxist ideological concepts. Consequently, Chairman Mao's thesis that Marx and Engels created Marxist theory in 1843 accords with the historical facts of the development of Marxism.

9432

CSO: 4005/377

PARTY AND STATE

TAX RESISTANCE, BEATING OF TAX COLLECTORS CONDEMNED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 81 p 2

[Article by Wu Ming [0702 6900]: "Strictly Prohibit the Beating of Tax Cadres"]

[Text] Recently a series of incidents has occurred in Shanghai in which tax cadres discharging their public duties have been beaten. At the farm byproducts market in Xinhui Road, two pedlars, a father and son surnamed Liu, refused to pay their taxes. When the tax collector took away a weight from their steelyard, the old man attacked him with his fists, and the son charged into the face of the tax collector with his head, knocking out the tax collector's teeth and causing his mouth to bleed. At Yunzaobin, an incident took place in which a group of fishermen from elsewhere pushed a tax collector, who had come to get additional taxes, into the pilot's compartment and beat him, injuring him. Such brazen acts of physical violence against tax collectors in defiance of the law in broad daylight merit serious attention.

The country's laws clearly provide for the right of citizens to have their persons protected, striking a person to cause body harm to be punished according to the law. The beating of a tax collector is certainly not like beating an ordinary person. State tax collectors discharging tax collection duties are protected under the law in performance of their official activities and are not to suffer interference. "Criminal Law" Section 157 stipulates, "Use of violence or threats to obstruct state working personnel in the discharge of their legal duties...will be sentenced to no more than 3 years imprisonment, detention, fines, or the taking away of political rights." The above mentioned incidents of the beating of tax collectors were clearly in violation of the "Criminal Law." Punishment in accordance with the law of such illegal behavior is both for the purpose of protecting the safety of the person of tax collectors, and to maintain necessary respect for national law.

In the wake of the institution of various economic policies following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, China's economy has come alive; markets are burgeoning, both buying and selling are flourishing, and the situation is extremely heartening. In order to have enlivening rather than chaos, and in order to further develop a heartening economic situation, strengthening of management of markets and the economy are entirely necessary. Strict management of tax collection is a major link in this strengthening of market management and economic management. In accordance with state promulgated tax regulations and directives from the State Council pertaining to the strengthening of market management and attacking speculating,

profiteering, and smuggling activities. Shanghai's tax organizations began in July to level industrial and commercial taxes on agricultural byproducts markets and unregistered industrial and business households. The broad masses of unregistered individual households and peasants support these tax collection regulations. But a small number of people, either because they do not understand national tax collection policies or out of a mentality of extreme selfishness, indiscriminately damn these taxes as "exorbitant taxes and levies," and even resort to force and threats to prevent their collection. This is completely wrong. It is commonly known that socialist tax collection has as its point of departure the welfare of the mass of the people as a whole, and is for the building of the socialist economy, and for the accumulation of capital to raise the material and cultural standards of living of the people, "taking from the people and using for the people." This is qualitatively different from the exorbitant taxes and levies of the reactionary government of old China, and is not to be considered in the same category.

Socialist tax collection is the main means by which a socialist country organizes fiscal revenues. It is a major lever in carrying out economic policies, and it is a way in which the state participates in the distribution and redistribution of the citizens' income. Payment of taxes in accordance with the law is the duty of enterprises, institutions, collectives, and individuals. Each citizen must support state tax cadres in their tax collection management work in accordance with the law. All theft of taxes, evasion of taxes, or refusal to pay taxes is impermissible. Some comrades who do not understand national tax collection policies frequently sympathize with or side with some small pedlars' and individual households' actions in dodging or refusing to pay taxes, or they may even join in hoodwinking tax cadres and market management personnel discharging their official duties. This is entirely mistaken. Henceforth, tax offices should do wider ranging propaganda work, propagandizing the necessity for socialist tax collection and how it relates to every individual citizen, thereby strengthening people's outlook on legal payment of taxes. In cases of mistaken action in evading taxes, stern criticism and indoctrination is necessary, and prompt action should be taken. As for those lawless elements who through intent to resist payment of taxes attack and beat up tax cadres, punishment must be meted out in accordance with the law, and they positively cannot be allowed to act as they please to disrupt markets and flout the law and discipline.

9432

CSO: 4005/377

PARTY AND STATE

UNDERSTANDING, FAITH IN FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES STRESSED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO 5 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Lin Mu [2651 3668], "Only with Justice on Our Side Can We Be Bold and Assured"]

[Text] At present, the principal manifestation of the powerlessness of ideological political work is that it cannot propagandize on behalf of the four basic principles and the party's line, programs, and policies boldly and with assurance, and is unable to criticize and rectify erroneous ideological currents and incorrect practices boldly and with assurance.

Only with justice on our side can we be bold and assured, and if one does not have reason on one's side one will certainly be defeated in an argument. The reason why some comrades are so weak in saying or accomplishing anything, and why they do not dare to speak out, take charge, or make things their business is generally due to the fact that their reasoning is unsound. There are also several different manifestations of this: In the first case, the reasoning is correct to start with, but some comrades do not have a clear understanding or steadfast beliefs, even to the extent that they consider the true to be false and the correct to be biased. For example, the four basic principles and the party's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum are completely correct, objective truth, and are as right as can be. And yet, some comrades have doubts about whether the four basic principles are out of date and whether the Third Plenum's line, programs, and policies are correct, and so naturally cannot or are not willing to be steadfast or to do more to propagandize and implement them. In the second case, they themselves believe they are in the right, knowing things to be so without understanding why they are that way, and so they cannot answer the questions posed to them by people in actual life who hold opinions different from theirs. In such a case, they feel they ought to be bold and assured, but are not capable of it. In the third case, the person himself has a weak point, or in the past committed some error, or at present is guilty of some improper practice, and so feels himself to be without firm moral backing, and is therefore unable to criticize or assume responsibility for others.

Regarding the first type of person, it is hoped that they, on the basis of the resolutions resulting from the Sixth Plenum, will resolutely rectify the leftist concepts and bourgeois liberalized thinking in their own minds. They should clearly understand that the four basic principles are objective, universal truth, tested through a long period of revolutionary practice, are the fundamental guarantee of

our building a strong, modernized socialist country, and are the unalterable operating principles of the entire party, the entire army, and the entire people of our country. The four basic principles are certainly not out of date; rather, it is the thinking of those comrades who feel the principles are "out of date" which has departed from the correct path, causing them to become prisoners of bourgeois ideology. They should clearly recognize that the party's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum are the correct path representing the summing up of our party's experience, positive and negative, in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC, and that of the international communist movement; and that it has been gradually established, is appropriate to the situation in our country and to the building of socialist modernization; and that only by following the path will we be able to bring about the resurgence of China, enable our great ancestral nation to enter the first rank of the world's advanced countries, and provide a successful model of the building of socialism for the peoples of all countries. The line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum are definitely not one-sided; rather, it is those comrades who consider that they have become "one-sided" who until now are still restricted by the erroneous guiding ideology of the "two whatevers"; they themselves are not entirely creditable, and therefore they consider that what is correct is one-sided. We must cause those who are wavering not to waver, and leaders must first of all be entirely steadfast. We must cure the so-called "crisis of faith" among a portion of the masses and, especially, a portion of our youth; those who educate others must first of all establish a completely steadfast conviction and belief in the four basic principles and in the party's line, programs, and policies. "It doesn't matter if one is beheaded, as long as what one believes in is correct." Even today we must make a great effort to carry on and promote this kind of firm belief, such as revolutionary martyrs had in Marxism-Leninism, whose noble character did not change even when faced with death.

Regarding the second type of person, it is hoped that on the one hand they will make a great effort to study political theory, party policies, and specialized, professional areas of knowledge, and on the other hand become deeply involved in real life, understand the new circumstances, study new problems, and accumulate new experience. After making every effort to accomplish this, once they are able to believe firmly in the correctness of the four basic principles and the party's line, programs and policies, they will also be able to use persuasive viewpoints and facts to explain why the four basic principles and the party's line, programs, and policies are correct. Once they are able to recognize and oppose erroneous ideological currents and improper practices, they will also be able to use entirely reasonable and appropriate methods to criticize and rectify those erroneous ideological currents and improper practices.

As for the third type of person, it is hoped that they will dispel their misgivings, and be confident and unafraid. We must not think that because we ourselves have shortcomings, that we are unable to propagandize on behalf of correct ideology or criticize erroneous tendencies. If such were the case, then no one in the whole world would be able to spread truth or criticize error, for everyone has some kind of shortcoming, large or small. A person with a shortcoming who nevertheless does not conceal his fault to avoid criticism can still have justice on his side, and be bold and assured. Only those who have a shortcoming and are also afraid of having their scar exposed are capable of feeling that reason is not on their side, that they are without firm moral backing, and full of fears and misgivings. Our party

made mistakes in the past, but we definitely do not conceal our own mistakes; rather, we publicly expose and rectify our mistakes. In our party at present there still exist certain improper practices, but we definitely don't avoid this kind of improper practice as taboo, or shield them from discovery; rather, through great determination and effort, we overcome this kind of improper practice. Therefore, the mistakes of the past and certain improper practices of the present do not detract in the slightest from the greatness, honor, and correctness of our party, nor from its steadfastness and strength. On the contrary, it is precisely because our party has the strength and force to publicly expose and rectify its own shortcomings and mistakes that we seem more bold and assured, and with more justice on our side, than other political parties. In that case, why is it that our comrades who have shortcomings are not able to act confidently, and criticise and rectify their own and others' erroneous thinking and improper practices?

In sum, whether from the point of view of the basic principles, basic policies, or basic viewpoints we maintain, our reasoning is quite, quite correct. Our comrades should clearly recognize and be steadfast in their correctness, and also not conceal their own deficiencies; moreover, they should use correct attitudes and methods to develop their correctness and make up their deficiencies. Then, we will definitely be able, bold and assured, with justice on our side, to step up our ideological political work, and most effectively overcome the attitude of weakness and incapacity among our ideological leadership.

Of course, there is also a small minority of people who have no truth at all on their side and who are nevertheless as bold and assured as oxen; theirs is not a case of being bold and assured due to having justice on their side, but only of their wilfully making trouble. Actually, they are fierce in appearance but cowardly at heart, and if only we refute them with justice on our side, they will be defeated like a deflated rubber ball.

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CSO: 4005/234

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANXI TRAINS CADRES TO ORGANIZE, COMMAND MILITIA

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Li Xuan [2621 1357] et al: "Focus Training on the Improvement of the Ability To Organize and Command"]

[Text] During this year's training of full-time armed forces cadres, the provincial military district is devoting 70 percent of the time to training in the command and organization of operations so as to improve the organizational and command capabilities of 2,000 full-time armed forces cadres, thereby providing well-trained instructors and commanders for the province's militia training and operations.

In the past training of these cadres, there was too much learning of individual tactics and too little practice in organization and command. Because of this, the great majority of these cadres only had the skills needed to operate alone and lacked the ability to organize and command. In order to change this situation so as to meet the requirements of war, the principal leaders and the training departments of the provincial military district, have from first to last focused the training on the improvement of the ability to organize and command and have tightly grasped the following four aspects in this training.

1. "Study of the enemy army" is made the key content running through the training from beginning to end. Each unit prints and distributes to every trainee materials pertaining to the enemy army so that everybody understands the enemy army's situation and characteristics, with the goal of "knowing the other side," and also sets up situations on the training ground that are strictly in accord with the enemy army's characteristics. The trainees apply what they have learned in confrontational training.

2. Attention is paid to the study of teaching materials on militia guerrilla warfare. In order that the trainees will "know themselves," during the training the units pay attention to the following three points: First, the units set aside a definite period of time for the trainees to study guerrilla warfare teaching materials and teaching plans. Second, they organize the trainees to view motion picture films on guerrilla warfare, to ask veteran militiamen to recount examples of battles in our province's history. Third, they adopt the method of "stringing pearls," with the study of raids as primary. At the same time the trainees study the traditional tactics of tunnel warfare, mine warfare, and ambush warfare.

3. Stress is laid on group assignments and training in actual military command. There is still a gap between understanding organization and command and being able to command, and the training in group assignments is an effective method of narrowing this gap. So that every trainee masters the tactics at his level and is able to organize and command actual military training and operations, all units carry out instruction at sites chosen for their tactical background, and also adopt the method of organizing the trainees into groups and having each one in turn play the part of the commander leading live soldiers in carrying out training and exercises with a tactical background.

4. With the focus on the characteristics of militia guerrilla warfare, training is carried out to grasp the basic knowledge pertaining to organization and command. In order for full-time armed forces cadres, according to the intentions of the upper levels, to shoulder singlehandedly the burden of organizing militia training in peacetime and commanding militia operations in wartime, they must be provided with the knowledge of organization and command that is indispensable for a qualified instructor and commander. To this end, during group training, based on the characteristic that in a future war the militia will generally be operating in a predetermined region, there is study and training in the contents of the book "Military Topography." At the same time, focusing on the characteristics that militia guerrilla forces make many nighttime raids on the enemy, the units, with an eye on a future war, organize everybody to train principally in coping with the enemy's night-vision devices. All this makes the full-time armed forces cadres able, when something happens, to make inferences by analogy and, no matter whether organizing training or commanding in battle, to complete their missions in comparatively good fashion.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

LIGHT WEAPON SIGHTING DEVICE--Song Yunshan [1345 0061 1472], head of the training department at the headquarters of the provincial military district, after 10 years of arduously tackling key problems and practicing over and over again, finally successfully innovated a sighting device that is fitted on light weapons. This innovative achievement was appraised by experts, who confirmed that it was an important innovation in light weapon sighting devices and a new contribution to national defense construction. This sighting device possesses the features of being quick to lock on target, highly accurate in hitting the target, very adaptable, and easy to learn, master and use. Practice proves that, when using this new sighting device, one can instantly form an accurate sighting line and fire; no matter whether it is bright day or dark night, whether the weather is fine or terrible, one can accurately hit the target, which greatly shortens the training time and markedly improves training results. [Text] [Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 p 1] 9727

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY ON OVERSEAS CHINESE URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 27 Sep 81 p 1

[Article: "Provincial Overseas Chinese Affairs Work Conference and Third Committee Meeting of the Second Session of the Provincial Overseas Chinese Federation Conference Emphasizes, Conscientiously Sort Out 'Leftist' Thinking and Further Implement the Policy on Overseas Chinese Affairs"]

[Text] The Hebei Province Overseas Chinese Affairs Work Conference and the Third Committee Meeting of the Second Session of the Hebei Province Overseas Chinese Federation met at the same time in Shijiazhuang from the 17th to the 24th.

The conference relayed and studied the important directive of the Central Committee leadership comrades with regard to overseas Chinese work and the spirit of the domestic overseas Chinese affairs work conference and the relevant documents of the Second Committee Meeting of the Second Session of the All-China Overseas Chinese Federation.

Responsible comrades from the provincial committee and government, Li Erzong [2621 1422 6850], Wang Zheng [3769 6927], Yin Zhe [1438 0772], Zhao Yimin [6392 0001 3046], Zhang Kerang [1728 0344 6245] and Li Feng [2621 6912], heard reports at the meeting and Comrade Li Erzong gave an important talk. He said that in the past few years Overseas Chinese Offices and the Overseas Chinese Federation in various places have done a great deal of work and the achievements are evident. The Party's overseas Chinese affairs policy is gradually being implemented and a great number of unjust, false and mistaken cases have basically been redressed. However, the issue of a number of returned overseas Chinese and their dependents influenced by so-called overseas relationships still have not been resolved and local areas and cities should concentrate a certain period of time to thoroughly resolve this sort of issue. We cannot make overseas relationships a special political issue, because just like domestic relationships, overseas relationships are normal relationships. Overseas Chinese affairs work is an important work of the Party. The entire Party must pay serious attention to overseas Chinese affairs work and should strengthen leadership of overseas Chinese affairs work and propagandize overseas Chinese affairs policies thoroughly among the broad cadres, Party members and the masses. Relevant sections should adopt measures and can adopt specially needed supply methods to resolve conscientiously the issue of overseas remittances and goods supply and satisfy the need for broad overseas Chinese remittance accounts. Overseas Chinese affairs agencies in various places in Hebei Province now should be

made healthy and strong. The Overseas Chinese Federation is one of the six big people's organizations. Local areas and municipalities should pay close attention to resolving the Overseas Chinese Federation organization's problems of lack of staff, expenses and space and fully develop the role of Overseas Chinese Federations.

Yang Xingzhong [2799 6821 5883], deputy chief secretary of the provincial government, gave a report on overseas Chinese affairs work. Li Feng, deputy province chief, gave a speech at the conclusion of the conference.

During the conference everyone conscientiously studied and discussed the basic direction proposed by Comrade Hu Yaobang for overseas Chinese affairs work in the new period: We should protect and develop our overseas countrymen's warm feelings of love for the motherland and for their old home. The conference felt that the main problem in Hebei now is that the "leftist" things still have not been eradicated. Major examples of this are: there is still resistance to implementing overseas Chinese affairs policy, unjust, false and mistaken charges against returned overseas Chinese and their dependents have still not been settled, especially in not clearing up discriminatory materials on employees who are returned overseas Chinese or their dependents due to overseas relationships, and there are also some questions with regard to finding positions for intellectual overseas Chinese and their dependents who have returned to China. On the basis of the directives of the provincial committee, all areas should stress implementing overseas Chinese affairs policies and should reexamine and check conscientiously unjust, false and mistaken charges against returned overseas Chinese and their dependents. Discriminatory materials on employees who are returned overseas Chinese and their dependents due to overseas relationships should be cleared up as soon as possible. As arranged uniformly by the offices for implementing policy at all levels, overseas Chinese affairs sections should use six months or more to complete the task of implementing policy. In doing a good job of work with returned intellectual overseas Chinese and their dependents, they should conscientiously do things so that they have full confidence in them politically, employ them courageously in work and are concerned about their lives, fully mobilizing their initiative for the Four Modernizations, developing their wisdom and intelligence to contribute strength to the early return of Taiwan to the motherland and the reunification of the motherland.

The conference demanded that we should go all out in stressing enterprises run by overseas Chinese, earnestly maintain the characteristics of overseas Chinese operated enterprises, pay attention to taking advantage of their superiority in having associations within and without the country, Party and government leadership and relevant sections at all levels should vigorously support and help so that they will develop smoothly and grow strong.

The conference called on cadres of overseas Chinese sections to be confident and unafraid and to work bravely. They should frequently go down to the grass-roots level, strengthen survey work, establish close relations with returned overseas Chinese and their dependents and do a good job of overseas Chinese affairs work.

The Third Meeting of the Second Session of the Hebei Province Overseas Chinese Federation Committee considered the work report of the Overseas Chinese Federation for the past year and augmented the committee and standing committee. They also emphasized study of the "Patriotism Tour Reporting Group" which they sponsored and preparations for the meeting to commend returned overseas Chinese and their dependents who are advanced workers (producers) which they plan to hold.

Attending the meeting were local and municipal secretariat heads (or directors) in charge of overseas Chinese work, directors of offices of overseas Chinese affairs, chairmen of Overseas Chinese Federations, committee members of the provincial Overseas Chinese Federation, overseas Chinese affairs cadres from key counties and individual grass-roots level units, and provincial level comrades of directly concerned sections, over 160 persons in all. Comrades from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council and the National Overseas Chinese Federation also attended the conference by invitation.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONALITIES SUPPORT NATIONALITIES' AUTONOMY

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yu Zhengui [0151 2182 6311]: "People of All Nationalities Wholeheartedly Support the Autonomous Rule for All Nationality Regions"]

[Text] "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" clearly points out: "It is necessary to firmly carry out nationality region autonomy, to strengthen autonomous legal system construction of nationality areas, to guarantee the autonomous rights of minority nationalities to implement party and state policy on the basis of actual local circumstances."

The autonomy of nationality areas is the CCP's basic policy of applying Marxism-Leninism to resolve questions of China's nationalities. Many years of practice proves that the Party's policy of nationality area autonomy is a correct combination of nationality autonomy and regional autonomy, economic factors and political factors and is an effective measure for promoting nationality unity, accelerating nationality development and consolidating the unity of the motherland.

Nationality area autonomy means that under the unified leadership of the Party and state within China's big nationality family, on the basis of the areas where there are large concentrations of minority nationalities, appropriate autonomous localities are to be founded and minority nationalities will be their own masters and manage the affairs in the nationality areas. The aim is to guarantee equal position of minority nationalities politically, fully develop their initiative to participate in socialist construction, and to seek common development and prosperity through nationality cooperation and mutual help.

Correct management of the nationality question has been an important subject in the Chinese revolution. In all the historical stages of China's revolution, the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong have always intimately related the emancipation and liberation of minority nationality peoples and the comprehensive victory of China's revolution. As early as 1935, when Comrade Mao Zedong led the Central Red Army through Liupan Shan, he personally sowed the seeds of revolution among our Hui nationality people. In August 1936, the westward marching Red Army established our Party's first Hui nationality autonomous regime--the Yuhai Hui People's Autonomous Government--in the Tongxin and Haiyuan districts. On 6 November 1938, at the Party's sixth meeting of the Sixth (expanded) CCP Conference, Comrade Mao Zedong, representing the Party Central Committee, clearly advocated implementing

nationality area autonomy. In 1941, the "Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Government Program" also pointed out: "On the basis of the principle of the equality of nationalities, implement equal rights of Mongol and Hui nationalities with Han nationality in politics, economy and culture, and establish Mongol and Hui nationality autonomous regions." Not long after the victory of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong further emphasized: We should "conscientiously carry out work among minority nationalities, and promote the two central tasks of minority nationality autonomy and the training of the nationality's own cadres." In 1952, China promulgated "The PRC's Program for Implementing Nationality Area Autonomy." In September 1954, China's first constitution clearly guaranteed that all nationality autonomous organs which minority nationalities established in areas where they were concentrated could enjoy the rights granted by the constitution. By the end of 1958, about 90 percent of the population of areas where there were concentrations of minority nationalities around the country had implemented regional autonomy. The Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region was established in October of that year. At present we calculate that there are 5 autonomous regions, 29 autonomous zhou and 70 autonomous counties (banners). The minority nationalities have all thoroughly broken away from the political disenfranchisement which they have experienced for the past thousands of years and have realized their long cherished desire for local autonomy and to be masters of their own destinies.

Lenin has said: "If we do not guarantee that each region which has significant characteristics in economy of livelihood and has special minority elements, etc., can enjoy this kind of autonomy, we cannot imagine that we have a modern and truly democratic nation." This is why in the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC our Party has firmly carried out nationality area autonomy and thus fundamentally changed the situation of disunity in old China, implemented and consolidated the unity of all nationalities in the country, and formed and developed socialist nationality relationships of equality and mutual help among the more than 50 nationalities in the country. However, due to the influence of leftist ideology in the Party, we have made serious errors in the nationality question by expanding the class struggle. Particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their gang trampled and destroyed the Party's nationality policy, harmed a great many minority nationality cadres and masses with serious consequences for socialist construction in the autonomous regions; in launching minority work, we did not adequately respect minority nationality autonomy rights and for a long period had not implemented and strengthened legal system construction in nationality area autonomy. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our Party has absorbed the profound lessons of nationality work since the founding of the PRC, the Party's nationality region autonomy policy has once again been revived and implemented, and not only are the principles of nationality equality, unity, prosperity and development being upheld, but the dialectical unity of nationality forms and the content of socialism are also being upheld. This time, the "Historical Resolution" further emphasizes: "It must be clearly understood that China's nationality relations now are basically the relations between working peoples of all nationalities," and thus the various erroneous views which leftist ideology created in the question of nationality relations in the past have been eliminated.

Generally speaking, although our Party has made mistakes in the nationality question, and suffered setbacks, as soon as they were discovered they were immediately corrected. Therefore, since the founding of the PRC our achievements in nationality work have been enormous, and this is obvious to all nationality peoples. From just the situation which has developed in our area, it can be seen that because the Party's policy on nationality equality, unity and nationality area autonomy was carried out, just as the "Historical Resolution" summarized, "Minority nationality areas were helped to develop their economy and culture and strove to train and promote minority nationality cadres" and thus building of politics, economy and culture in the autonomous region has made great advances and the standard of living of both the Hui and Han nationalities has clearly improved.

First, seen from the perspective of politics: Before liberation, Chiang Kaishek basically did not admit the existence of the Hui nationality, and said only that they were "citizens with special manners and customs." The Hui nationality renegade and reactionary militarist Ma Hongkui also advocated the view that "the Hui nationality is a branch of the Han nationality." The Hui people had no position politically, and what with the addition of layer after layer of oppression by the reactionary government it led to the situation in Ningxia where "over 35 percent of the entire population of the province in all counties had fled from famine or had no children." After liberation, Ningxia's nationality peoples became their own masters, the autonomous region was established and it was further guaranteed that the Hui nationality could enjoy equal political rights. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party's nationality policy has been further implemented in our region, nationality work agencies have been revived and restored to health, a reeducation campaign on nationality policy has been launched, a group of young Hui nationality cadres has been selected for employment at the grass-roots level, and not long ago the region's people's government proclaimed "Several Stipulations Concerning Respect for Minority Nationality Customs and Practices," all of which has received the unanimous support of nationality people. In the direct elections at the county level in our region, minority nationalities make up over 30 percent of the people's representatives and those elected to positions as chairman and deputy chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and county chief and deputy chief. The implementation of the Party's nationality policy guaranteed the smooth implementation of the important directions of economic readjustment and political stability in our region and strengthened nationality unity and promoted economic prosperity.

Second, seen from the perspective of economic development: In the old society the land in the rural areas of Ningxia was poor, output was low and for industry there were only a dozen or so sorry little plants. After the autonomous region was established a situation of flourishing socialist construction appeared in our region. Per capita gross value of industrial and agricultural production for 1949 was 88.6 yuan, in 1958 it was 144.1 yuan, in 1978 it was 518.4 yuan and in 1979 it was 522 yuan. In terms of industry, our region now has ten or so industries, including coal, electricity, metallurgy and machinery, and over 1,000 large, medium and small-scale enterprises. Through preliminary readjustment and improvement, economic effectiveness has been increased. The situation in the rural areas is even more encouraging. Due to the thorough implementation of the Party's policies concerning developing agriculture, the implementation of economic measures,

the general establishment of various forms of production responsibility and the upholding of the principle of distribution according to work, in 1980 our region had a comprehensive harvest in agricultural production, with the gross value of agricultural production increasing 15.7 percent compared to 1979.

Third, there have also been great improvements in our region's culture, science and education and the people's standard of living. Since the establishment of the autonomous region, 4 new institutions of higher learning have been built and the enrollment in 1980 was 4,156, an increase of 28.3 percent over the previous year. According to statistics for 1978, Hui nationality university students were 7.7 times the number for 1958 and middle school students were 17.8 times the number for the same period. By 1980 the region had 223,000 middle school students and 583,000 elementary school students all together. In the city of Yinchuan alone last year four schools were restored and built, and in the educationally backward Xiji County last year one new Hui nationality middle school and 14 Hui nationality elementary schools were built. With the development of the economy, in 1980 the total employee wages in the region increased 16.9 percent over the previous year. Changes in the rural areas are particularly evident. In 1980 the average income of a commune member was 177.6 yuan, which is a 41.6 percent increase over the previous year; food grains have reached an average of 449 jin per person, which is an increase of 21 percent over the previous year.

In studying the important discussion of the Party's nationality policy issue in the "Historical Resolution," we feel it is very correct and clear. In the future, under the leadership of the Party, we should certainly hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, continue to conscientiously carry out the Party's policy on nationality area autonomy and turn Ningxia into a socialist new home of nationality equality and unity, growth and development, and cultural prosperity.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PROSPERITY, ADVANCEMENT OF HUI NATIONALITY DISCUSSED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by the United Front Department of the Autonomous Region Party Committee: "Under the Leadership of the Party, the People of Hui Nationality Are Following the Road to Prosperity and Advancement"]

[Text] In our region, people of all nationalities have welcomed the 60th anniversary of the birth of the great CCP with feelings of complete joy, and we are studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which was passed by the very historically significant 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, with redoubled enthusiasm. The "Historical Resolution" correctly summarizes the experience, both positive and negative, in nationality work in the 32 years since the founding of the PRC and points out the direction for our efforts. Using the "Historical Resolution" as a weapon we should unify the entire Party's understanding of nationality work, improve nationality work, improve and expand socialist nationality relations and strengthen the unity of nationalities. In study, we look back on the glorious course of communist party solidarity and militancy which the Hui nationality people are following, and understand deeply that because there was a nationality policy, the Hui nationality people can be where they are today.

Before Liberation, to resist the oppression and exploitation of the ruling class, the Hui nationality people fought for their own liberation, started many uprisings, and carried on a long period of heroic struggle, but because they did not have the correct leadership of an advanced revolutionary party each uprising and struggle encountered cruel suppression and defeat. In 1921 the CCP was born, the Chinese revolution took on a new look and the brilliance of the Party illuminated the road for the advancement of the Chinese people. Under the leadership of the CCP the Hui nationality people welcomed the new victory of nationality liberation.

After the PRC was founded, the Party proposed a nationality region autonomy policy to strengthen unity of nationalities and to realize equality of nationalities. In our region, Jingyuan, Xihaigu and Wuzhong established Hui nationality autonomous counties and zhou. In October 1958, out of the direct concern of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the Ningxia-Hui Autonomous Region was established and the Ningxia Hui nationality people further realized their right to be autonomous. This was another great example of the Party's nationalities policy and opened even brighter prospects for the development of the Ningxia region and for the

prosperity and advancement of the Hui nationality people. The key to carrying out nationality region autonomy is the large-scale training and employment of minority nationality cadres to realize the nationality-ization of autonomous agencies. Proceeding from this basic idea, the Party committee of the autonomous region adopted a variety of measures to train a large group of nationality cadres. Now in the region there are over 11,000 Hui nationality cadres, including a significant number of comrades who have become mainstays and have assumed leadership work in leadership agencies at all levels. The overwhelming majority of important leadership positions at the county level in Xiji, Haiyuan, Guyuan, Jingyuan, Tongxin, Lingwu and Wuzhong, counties where the Hui are concentrated, are held by Hui nationality cadres.

The fundamental mission of Hui nationality district autonomy is, through the vigorous support of the nation, to help the minority nationality develop the economy and culture, and eliminate the actual inequalities between nationalities which have been carried over historically, and to promote the prosperity, advancement and development of minority nationalities. After Ningxia was liberated, and after the Hui nationality people had carried out democratic revolution under the leadership of the Party, the three great socialist transformations were completed. In 1958 the democratic reform of the religious system was carried out also which eliminated the feudal special privileges and the system of exploitation and oppression in religion, completed the historical mission of the reform of Hui society and created most favorable conditions for the rapid development and prosperity of the Hui nationality regions. Along with the continuing development of socialist revolution and construction in the autonomous regions, there have also been fundamental changes in the spiritual face of the nationalities. Political consciousness is constantly increasing, nationality unity is growing stronger daily and the situation of mutual distrust and cautiousness which used to exist between the Huis and the Hans in the past has been replaced by new socialist relationship of unity and friendship and mutual help and cooperation.

Although in the past, especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution," in the nationalities question we committed many mistakes in expanding the class struggle, and harmed many minority nationality cadres and masses, and in work did not respect enough the autonomous rights of minority nationalities, generally speaking the achievements of nationality work were still important ones.

In autonomous region construction, the Party Central Committee and the State Council have continually shown great concern and support. In the 22 years from the time that the autonomous region was established until 1980, the Central Committee's financial support to our region reached 3,068,620,000 yuan. Thanks to the solicitude of the Party Central Committee construction in the autonomous region has made enormous achievements. In capital construction in agriculture and water conservancy, there is the series of new projects like the strategic prize--the key water conservancy project at Qingtongxia--which opened up irrigation using the Yellow River on the basis of the work done in the past. Irrigated land has increased from the 1,930,000 mu of the early post-liberation period to 3,760,000 mu. Output of food grains has increased more than three times over the early post-liberation period. Industries have come into being where before there were none and have gone from small to large; fledgling industrial sectors in coal, electric

power, chemicals, machine building, construction materials, paper making, tanning and woolen, cotton and linen textiles have been constructed; the very backward situation of the communications and transport of the past has been greatly expanded and now the Bao-Lan Railway runs through the Yellow River irrigation district and public highways connect to all points; there have been great developments in civil air transport, science, culture, education and public health. In the pre-liberation period the district had only 16 middle schools, 639 elementary schools, 3 rudimentary hospitals and 40 hospital beds. Now the region has an agricultural college, 39 scientific research agencies, over 2,400 scientific and technical personnel, 5 institutions of higher learning, 20 intermediate vocational schools, 508 regular middle schools, and over 5,100 elementary schools. There are 60 hospitals above the county level with over 7,800 beds and over 12,700 medical specialists. Along with the development of production, the minority people's standard of living has also improved. In 1980 the average income per household was 145 yuan in cash and 449 jin of edible grains per person. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, leadership of minority nationality work has been further strengthened, the Party's nationality policy and religion policy have been reaffirmed and implemented, reeducation on nationality policy has been carried out among the masses; unjust, false and wrong cases have been redressed, economic policy has been liberalized, a five year moratorium on state purchase of food grains has been implemented for the seven counties in the mountains of the southern part of Ningxia where the Hui nationality is concentrated, thus strengthening the unity of the nationality peoples and pushing the economy of the autonomous region toward a new historical stage.

Practice in the more than 30 years since Liberation proves the brilliant theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought with regard to the nationality question and the Party's nationality policy is our theoretical weapon for dealing with the nationality question correctly and is a beacon for the unity and militancy of nationality peoples. All of the achievements we have made are brilliant victories of the Party's nationality policy. Without the Communist Party there would be no New China, without the leadership of the Communist Party there would not have been the emancipation and prosperity of the Hui nationality people. When commemorating the 60th birthday of the Party, the Hui nationality people should keep this truth firmly in mind and should rally more closely around the Party Central Committee and bravely take the road ahead pointed out by the Party.

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